THE

Six Diſtinguiſhing Characters

OF A

Parliament-Man.

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Addreſs'd to the Good People of *England*.

——— *And that in Reſpect of ſome Matters of the Higheſt Importance to this our Kingdom, we do intend to give Directions for the calling a new Parliament, which ſhall begin, and be holden at* Weſtminſter, *on* Thurſday *the Sixth Day of* February *next.* *Vide* Proclamation.

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THE
Six Diſtinguiſhing Characters
OF A
Parliament-Man.

Good People of England,

THE Diſuſe, or Diſtruſt of Parliaments in the Four laſt Reigns, was the Nation's general Grievance; and 'twas but lately that Parliaments were conſulted in the Matters of *Higheſt Importance* to the Kingdoms.

This was the Deſtruction of that Mutual Confidence between King and People, which is ſo Eſſential to the Proſperity of a Nation.

Parliaments were call'd together, a long Speech, and great *P*retences for Money open'd the Seſſion; and as ſoon as the End was anſwer'd, they were ſent Home about their Buſineſs.

If they began to ſhow their Reſentments, and appear Senſible of their being Impos'd upon, if they began to ſearch into the Intriegues of the Court, if they began to Queſtion *Favourites*, and *Miniſters*, they were equally certain of being diſmiſs'd.

Now to ſhow us what kind of a Nation we are (that according to the Old Character of an *Engliſhman*) can never tell when we are Well, Providence has chang'd the Scene.

Former Kings have been Addreſſed by their Parliament to make War againſt the *French*, and Money given by Millions to carry it on, and have had their Money ſpent, and no War cou'd be had.

Now we have a King that has Fought our Battels in Perſon, and willingly run thro' all the hazards of a bloody War, and has been oblig'd to uſe all the

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Perſwaſions poſſible to bring us to Support him in it.

Former Kings wou'd ſtand ſtill, and ſee the French over-run *Flanders*, and ruin our *Proteſtant* Neighbours, tho' the Parliament & People have intreated them to Aſſiſt them, and ſave *Flanders* from the falling into the hands of the *French*.

Now we have a King, who Solicites the People to enable him to preſerve *Flanders* from falling into the Hands of the *French*, and to ſtand by and aſſiſt our Proteſtant Neighbours. And we on the Contrary are willing to ſee the *French* and Popiſh Powers, unite and poſſeſs *Flanders*, and every thing elſe, and glad the *Dutch* are in danger to be ruin'd; nay, ſo willing we are to have the States General deſtroy'd, that *Damn the Dutch*, is become a Proverb among us.

Formerly we had Kings who raiſed Armies in Times of Peace, and maintain'd them on ſham *Pretences* of a War never deſign'd, and received Aids from the *Parliament* Three times for the Disbanding One Army, and having ſpent the Money, left the *Parliament* to do it themſelves.

Now

Now we have a King who againſt his Judgment, and, as it now appears, againſt the Nation's Intereſt, conſented to Diſband the Army at the firſt Word from his Parliament, tho' he left all the moſt powerful of our Neighbours with their Forces in full Pay,

Formerly we had *Kings* who did what they pleas'd, now we have a King who lets us do what we pleaſe.

And yet *Engliſhmen* are not contented, but, as it were with our Saviour, when our Kings come Eating and Drinking, they Cry, *Behold a Glutton and a Drunkard*; and now they have a King that comes neither Eating or Drinking, they cry out, *He has a D---l.*

'Tis a vain thing to pretend to open the Eyes of the *Engliſh* Nation, but by their own immediate Danger, any Body might ha' known in former times what the Iſſue of a Popiſh Succeſſor would ha' been, and ſome wiſer than others told the People of it, and were rewarded with the Ax and the Halter for their News.

But

But when that Popiſh Succeſſor came to the Crown, and had reduced the Liberties and Religion of the Nation to the laſt Gaſp, then thoſe very People, who cou'd not ſee their Danger at a diſtance, took a fright when it was upon them, and what was the Conſequence? Nothing *but all the Blood and Treaſure of this laſt War.*

Had the Nation ſeen with the ſame Eyes as the late Lord *Ruſſel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and the *Oxford Parliament*, did ſee, could they have been convinc'd by Argument that *It was inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution of this Proteſtant Kingdom to be govern'd by a Popiſh Prince.* Cou'd the B----ps, who threw out that Bill, have known that a Popiſh King wou'd erect a High Eccleſiaſtick Commiſſion Court, and ſend them to the *Tower* for refuſing him a Power to Diſpence with the Laws, this War had been prevented, and the Blood of 300000 *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who have periſhed in it, had been ſav'd, all the Ships our Merchants have loſt to the *French*, had been ſafe, and the many Millions of Money, which have been ſpent, had been in our

 pockets;

Pockets; all this is owing to the blindneſs of that Age, who cou'd not ſee the danger of the Nation, till it was juſt upon them.

Now, Gentlemen, this is to give you Notice, that the Nation is in more danger at this time from abroad, than ever it was then in at home.

The King in his Proclamation for the calling a Parliament, has done two things which nó King his Predeceſſor ever did in our Age.

Firſt, He has told us that he has ſuch a Confidence in his People, that he is very deſirous to meet them, and have their Advice in Parliament.

Secondly, He tells us, that what he will adviſe with them about are Matters of the Higheſt Importance to the Kingdom.

Matters of the Higheſt Importance to a Kingdom muſt relate to ſome of theſe things, Peace and War, the Safety of Religion, Liberty and Trade; at leaſt it will be allow'd that theſe are Matters of the Higheſt Importance to the Kingdom.

Now, tho' I ſhall not adventure to explain His Majeſty's Meaning, yet I may

be

be allow'd to build the following Diſcourſe on the Suppoſition of this Explication :

And venture to ſuppoſe His Majeſty had ſaid, that the Danger the Proteſtant Religion ſeems to be in from the formidable Appearance of the French Power, and the Danger our Trade is in from the Succeſſion of *Spain* devolving to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and the Danger of a new Flame of War breaking out upon our confederated Neighbours, whom our Intereſt, as well as Leagues and Alliances, oblige us to aſſiſt ; all theſe things being Matters of the Higheſt Importance to the Kingdom, he has reſolv'd to call a new Parliament, to adviſe with them about theſe important things.

And becauſe the Circumſtances of Affairs are ſuch, as may bring us under a neceſſity of Armies, which People are ſo mightily afraid of; and that the Condition the Breach of our Army has left us in has been ſuch, that if another ſhou'd be wanting to defend us, 'tis a Queſtion where it cou'd be rais'd.

Wherefore our proper Defence, may be one of the Important things, for ought we know, about which they are to Adviſe.

And becauſe the Debate of an Army is a tender nice Point, I ſhall explain my ſelf; I do not mean that a Standing Army ſhou'd have been kept up in *England* in time of Peace, but, I ſay, it had been better for *England* and all *Europe* that we had not diſarm'd our ſelves ſo ſoon; and if we had diſarm'd, that we had not ſo entirely done it all at once; whereby we rendred our ſelves ſo deſpicable, that the *French* King has had an opportunity to Affront the whole Confederacy, in renouncing a League ratify'd and exchang'd, and taking Poſſeſſion of a Crown for his Grandſon, on the new invented Title of a laſt Will and Teſtament.

This he wou'd not have adventur'd to ha' done, had the *Engliſh* been in a Capacity to have poſſeſs'd *Flanders*, and to have appear'd at Sea, to have protected the Princes of *Italy* in their adherence to the Emperor.

But

But the *Engliſh* having reduc'd themſelves to ſuch a Condition, that whenever the *French*, or any body elſe pleaſe to Quarrel with us, we muſt be a conſiderable while before we can be in a poſture to act offenſively, and the *French* having ſo inſulted us in the Affair of *Spain*, that it will ſtand as an effectual Proof, whether we are in a Capacity to reſent an Affront or no; His Majeſty, who, when in a much lower Station, did not uſe to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo treated, has thought fit to adviſe with the *Engliſh* Parliament in the Caſe.

By adviſing with the Parliament, I underſtand, informing them of the State of Affairs, telling them his own Opinion, and asking theirs, propoſing the Meaſures he thinks fit to take, and deſiring their Opinion of the matter, and if they agree with him in the Meaſures which are to be taken, then to Propoſe their making proviſion in a Parliamentary way, for enabling him to Proſecute ſuch Meaſures as they agree to.

For to debate and conſider Matters of ſo much Conſequence, the King has directed Writs for the calling a new Parliament, to meet at *Weſtminſter* the Sixth of *February* next.

Since then the Matter is referr'd to the People of *England*, and they are to chuſe Repreſentatives for ſo great a Work, as to adviſe with a *Proteſtant* King about things of the higheſt Importance to the Kingdom,

Give a ſtander-by leave, Gentlemen, to offer ſomething to the People of *England*, by way of Advice or Direction, in the great Affair they have before them, and if it be with more freedom than is uſual, bear with him for once, becauſe 'tis about Matters of the higheſt Importance.

The uſual Advices given in like Caſes, formerly (when the Elections of Members were ſo corrupted, that indeed Advice was neceſſary, tho' hopeleſs) *uſe to be*, to chuſe Men that had Eſtates, and Men of Honeſty, Men that had Intereſts in the Freehold, and in the Corporations, and that wou'd not give away their Liberties,

and

and the Advice was good: And had the Country taken that Advice, the P------- would not ha' been huff'd by King *James* into a tacit Permiſſion both of a ſtanding Army at home, and the diſpenſing the Popiſh Officers continuing in Commiſſion without taking the Teſt.

But my Advice muſt differ from, tho' it muſt include part, of the forementioned Particulars; and therefore while I am directing theſe Sheets to the Freeholders of *England*, I beg them to conſider in their Choice of Parliament-men, that there may be Men of Eſtates, and Men of Honour in the Countries, who by ſome Circumſtances may not be proper to ſerve in this Parliament, becauſe by Prejudice or private Principles their Judgment may be pre-engaged to the Diſadvantage of the Nation's Intereſt; and ſince there are ſuch, 'tis neceſſary, Gentlemen, to caution you,

Firſt, That you be well aſſur'd the Gentlemen you ſhall chuſe are throughly engag'd with the preſent Circumſtances of the Nation, and thoroughly ſatisfied with the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Go-

Government; as Papiſts are juſtly excluded by Law from coming to Parliament, becauſe it cannot be expected that a Roman Catholick can be a proper Perſon to conſult about the Intereſt of a Proteſtant Kingdom, ſo it cannot be rational that he who is a declar'd Friend to King *James* or his Intereſt, can be a proper Perſon to adviſe with King *William* about *M*atters of the higheſt Importance to the Kingdom; it cannot be rational, that he who wou'd be willing to have this Nation return to her Obedience to a Popiſh King, can be a proper Perſon to be conſulted with in Parliament about ſecuring and defending the Proteſtant Religion; this were to pull down what we intend to build, and wou'd be as proper a way to help us, as a French Army maintain'd in *England*, wou'd be proper to defend us againſt *Lewis* the XIV.

Thoſe Men that Drink Healths to King *James*, and wiſh him all manner of Proſperity, are they fit Men to repreſent a *P*roteſtant Nation, and to adviſe a *P*roteſtant *P*rince for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion?

Wherefore

Wherefore, Gentlemen, for God ſake, and for your own ſakes, take heed, and ſet a mark on ſuch Men; if you chuſe Men diſaffected to the *Preſent* Settlement of the Nation, Friends to the late King, or to his Intereſt, you may be certain, ſuch Men will pull back the Nation's Deliverance, and hinder, not further that Unanimity of Councils, which is ſo much more needful now than ever, can the Friends to a Popiſh Prince be fit to repreſent a Proteſtant *People*, I have nothing to ſay to thoſe we call *Jacobites*, *tho' I wonder any can be ſuch, and yet be Proteſtants*; but as to their Perſons I ſay nothing to them, no, nor to the Papiſts, provided they keep the Peace, but to ſingle ſuch out to ſerve the Nation in a Proteſtant Parliament, and to adviſe with King *William* in Matters of the higheſt Importance, this is a thing ſo Prepoſterous, is ſuch a Contradiction, that I know not what to ſay to it; 'tis like going to the Devil with a Caſe of Conſcience.

Even our Adverſaries cannot but laugh at the folly of the *Engliſh* Nation, that they ſhou'd chuſe their Enemies to be their Councellors, and think to Eſtabliſh King *William*, by King *James*'s Friends, nothing can ſooner compleat the Ruin of the Kingdom, than to fill the Houſe of Commons with Jacobite Members, who will be ſure to forward any thing that tends to diviſion, in order to hinder the Nations Happineſs, wherefore tho' I might imagine ſuch Advice to be needleſs, I muſt inſiſt upon it, that you will avoid ſuch Men as either have diſcover'd a Diſaffection to King *William*, and the Preſent Settlement of the Nation, or that have been upheld by that Party.

In the next place, Gentlemen, let your Eyes be upon Men of Religion; chuſe no Atheiſts, Socinians, Hereticks, Aſgillites, and Blaſphemers.

Had the Original of the late War been under the Reign of ſuch a Body of Men, *England* might have made a Will, and given her Crown to the Duke *d' Berry*, as *Spain* has to the Duke *d' Anjou*, and have ſought Protection from the *French*.

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The danger of Religion calls for Men of Religion to conſult about it; you can never expect that Atheiſts, Socinians, or Aſgillites, will have any tenderneſs upon their Minds for the Proteſtant Religion; Jacobites will as ſoon ſupport King *William*, as Atheiſts will preſerve the Proteſtant Religion; what concern can they have upon their minds for the proteſtant Religion, who really are of no Religion at all? They'll think it hard to raiſe any Money for the preſervation of Religion, who fancy all Religion to be a trick, and the cheat of the Clergy; they can never think the danger of the Proteſtant Religion to ſignifie much, who wou'd not give a Shilling to ſecure it; and they will never give a Shilling to ſecure it, who Believe nothing of the matter; beſides this, What goods Laws? What Reformation of Manners? What wholeſome Orders for the Morality of Converſation can we expect from Men of no Religion?

Of all things therefore the Members you chuſe ſhou'd be *Men* of Religion, *Men* of Orthodox *Principles*, and Moral

ral in Practice, and that more eſpecially now, becauſe the ſecurity of Religion not only here, but over the whole World, may lye before them, and have a great dependance upon their Councils.

3. *M*en of Sence; the Houſe of Commons is not a place for Fools; the great Affairs of the State, the Welfare of the Kingdom, the publick Safety, the Religion, Liberties, and Trade, the Wealth and Honour of the Nation, are not things to be debated by Green Heads; the ſaying we have, that the Houſe of Commons is a School for States-men, is an Error, in my Opinion they ſhou'd be all well Taught, and thoroughly Learn'd in *M*atters of the higheſt *M*oment before they come there.

There has always been a ſort of Gentlemen in the H---ſe who uſe to be called the Dead Weight, who paſs their Votes in the Houſe as the poor Ignorant Freeholders in the Country do, juſt as their Landlord, or the Juſtice, or the Parſon directs; ſo theſe Gentlemen underſtanding very little of the Matter, give their Vote juſt as Sir ſuch a one do's,

let

let it be how it will, or juſt follow ſuch a Party, without judging of the *Matter*.

Pray Gentlemen, if we are ruin'd, and the Proteſtant Religion muſt ſink in the World, let us do our beſt to Save it; don't let us have cauſe to ſay, we ſent a parcel of Fools about the Buſineſs that fell into Heats and Parties, and ſpent their time to no purpoſe, for want of knowing better.

Of all Employments a Fool is the moſt unfit for a Parliament Man, for there is no manner of Buſineſs for him; he is capable of ſaying neither *Ay*, nor *No*, but as he is lead.

I deſire to be underſtood here what I mean by a Fool, not a Natural, an Idiot, a *Ben* in the *Minories*, a Born Fool, no, nor a ſilly, ſtupid, downright Blockheaded Fool: But Men are Fools or Wiſe-Men, comparatively conſidered with reſpect to their ſeveral Capacities, and their ſeveral Employments; as he may be a Fool of a Parſon who is a very Ingenious Artificer; a Fool of a Clockmaker, and yet be a very good Sailor; ſo a Gentleman may be a good Horſe-racer, a good Sports-

man, a good Swords-man, and yet be a Fool of a Parliament-man, therefore ſo I am to be Underſtood.

That he who is Capable to ſerve his Country as a Repreſentive in *P*arliament, ought to be a Man of Sence, that is, a *M*an of a general Knowledge, and receptive of the general Notions of things, acquainted with the true Intereſt of his Native Country, and the general State of it, as to Trade, Liberties, Laws, and common Circumſtances, and eſpecially of that part of it for which he ſerves; he ought to know how to deliver his *M*ind with freedom and boldneſs, and pertinent to the Caſe; and he ought to be able to diſtinguiſh between the Different Circumſtances of things, to know when their Liberties are encroached upon, and to Defend them, and to know how to value a Prince who is faithful to the Liberty and Intereſt of his Country, and to diſtinguiſh ſuch a one from thoſe who have made it their Buſineſs to Oppreſs and Invade the Liberties and Properties of the People, and

betray

betray them and their Intereſt to Popiſh and Bloody Enemies.

4. Men of Years; tho' 'tis confeſs'd Wiſdom makes a young Man old, yet the Houſe of Commons is not a Houſe for Boys; we have ſeen too many young Men in the Houſe, and raſh Councils are generally the Effect of young Heads. Fools and Boys wou'd do leſs Harm in the Houſe, and grow wiſer by being there, were they but allow'd to ſit, and not give their Votes; but while a Boy may do as much miſchief as a Man, and a Fool as a *Man* of Sence, 'tis hard the material Points of the Nation's Happineſs ſhou'd be committed either to young or weak Heads.

The Grandeur of the preſent French *Monarchy* is not unjuſtly aſcrib'd to the extraordinary *Men*, who are of the King's Council. The Parliament of *England* is the Great Council of the Nation, and on their Reſolutions depends the Proſperity both of King and People. Now if theſe Councils are committed to young Heads, the Proceedings will be ſuitable; as he that ſends a Fool with a *Meſſage* muſt expect a fooliſh Anſwer; ſo he that ſends a Boy

to

to *M*arket, expects to make a Child's Bargain.

5. *M*en of Honesty. It was formerly said, Chuse *M*en of Estates; the reason was, that they might not be tempted by Places and Pensions from the Court, to sell the Nation's Liberties; and indeed the Caution was good; but, Gentlemen, the Case is alter'd, the Court and the Nation's Interest are now all of a side, which they were not then, nor indeed never were since Queen *Elizabeth*. The King desires we shou'd do nothing but what is for the Security and Prosperity of Religion, and the Glory of the Nation; the Caution about Estates can do no harm, but a *M*an's Estate does not qualifie him at all to judge of the Necessity of Giving.

The Article of Estate was only supposed to make a *M*an cautious what he gave, because he was to pay the more of it himself. Now let a *M*an have but Sence to know when there is a Necessity to give, and that Sence back'd with Honesty, if he has not one Groat Estate, he will be as cautious of giving away the Nation's *M*oney, as he would be of his own:

own: To desire *Men* should have Estates, that their Interest shou'd make them shy, and backward to give *Money*, supposes at the same time they shou'd want both Sence and Honesty. *Sence*, that they cou'd not value the Nation's *Money*, unless they were to pay part of it themselves; and *Honesty*, that they wou'd not take as much care of giving away the Nation's *Money* as their own. Wherefore do but chuse Men of Honesty, and I do not lay so great a stress upon a Man's Estate. If there was any Body to bribe them, something might be said, but that Trade is over, (God be thank'd) King *William* has no need for it, and King *James* cann't afford it, and so that Fear ceases.

The last Character I shall recommend for your choice is, let them be *Men* of *Morals*.

Rakes and Beaus are no more fit to sit in the House of Commons, than Fools and Knaves. 'Tis hard we should put the Work of Reformation into the Hands of such, whose own Conversation is vicious and scandalous. A drunken Parson is a very improper Agent to reform a Pa-

riſh, a lewd ſwearing Juſtice is not likely to reform the Country, no more is a vitious immoral Parliament likely to reform a Nation. Reformation of Manners is an Article of the higheſt Importance to the Kingdom; the King has recommended it to every Parliament, and yet we find it very much retarded; it goes on ſo heavily, that the Proceedings are hardly viſible; and till you have a reform'd Parliament, you cannot expect a Parliament of Reformers.

Unleſs our Members are Men of Morals, we muſt expect very few Laws againſt Immorality; and if there ſhou'd ſuch clean things come out of an unclean, it wou'd be all Hetrodox, and Unnatural; twou'd be like a monſtrous Birth, the Parent wou'd be afraid of it, and it wou'd be aſham'd of its Parent.

Beſides, how can ye expect that God ſhou'd accept of the Offering dedicated by Impure Hands? The Work can never be ſuppos'd to Proſper while the Undertakers plead for God, and at the ſame time Sacrifice to the Devil.

'Tis

'Tis true, that God oftentimes Works by unlikely Inſtruments, but 'tis not often that he Works by contraries; *Jehu* was made uſe of to bring to paſs the Ruin God had foretold to the Family of *Ahab*, but 'twas a *Joſiah* and a *Jehoſaphat*, for whom God reſerv'd the Work of Reformation, and the Deſtruction of Idolatry.

But allow that God may make uſe of improper Methods, and unlikely Inſtruments when he pleaſes to bring to paſs what his Providence has deſign'd, yet we are not to confine him to ſhow his Power, and oblige him to make uſe of ſuch Inſtruments, as he can have no *P*leaſure in, leaſt he ſhou'd think fit to refuſe his Bleſſing, and make the Work abortive, or at leaſt delay his Concurrence to the Work of our Reformation, till we ſhall think fit to chuſe ſuch Perſons for the carrying it on, as are fit to be employed in ſo great a Work.

F I N I S.